

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 067783

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, YU, US

SUBJECT: US-YUGOSLAV CSCE CONSULTATIONS
REF: BELGRADE 1752

1. AMBASSADOR PESIC, THE YUGOSLAV CSCE COORDINATOR AND HIS
DEPUTY, MIRKO ZARIC, CAME TO WASHINGTON MARCH 15-16 FOR
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CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE AND THE UPCOMING BELGRADE REVIEW
MEETINGS. YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON, BELOVSKI,
ALSO PARTICIPATED IN PORTION OF PROGRAM. THE CONSULTATIONS
CONSISTED OF AN OPENING PLENARY SESSION CHAIRED BY EUR
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LOWENSTEIN AND OF FIVE "EXPERTS
GROUPS" WHICH COVERED PRINCIPAL CSCE TOPICS AND THE BELGRADE
MEETING. THE YUGOSLAVS ALSO HAD A BRIEF MEETING WTH DEPUTY
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, A LUNCHEON HOSTED BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT
SECRETARY ARMITAGE AND A CONCLUDING SESSION WITH ASSISTANT
SECRETARY HARTMAN. WE SHARE PESIC'S VERY POSITIVE VIEW OF

CONSULTATIONS (REFTEL). CSCE COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVES WERE PRESENT THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSIONS.

2. THE FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF YUGOSLAV VIEWS AS EXPRESSED DURING THE CONSULTATIONS:

A) PLENARY SESSION

-- PESIC STRESSED THAT YUGOSLAVIA APPROACHED THE BELGRADE MEETING AS A NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY. ACCORDINGLY, YUGOSLAVIA DOES NOT SEE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS IN EUROPE ON A BLOC-TO-BLOC BASIS BUT RATHER ADVOCATES DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVEREIGN AND EQUAL STATES, A COURSE WHICH HAS BEEN REINFORCED BY THE SIGNING OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. PESIC STRESSED THAT THE FINAL ACT SHOULD BE EXAMINED AND APPLIED IN ALL OF ITS PARTS WITHOUT SINGLING OUT ANY PARTICULAR ASPECT (I.E., BASKET III).

-- THE YUGOSLAVS STATED THAT THEY HAVE HAD CONSULTATIONS WITH MORE THAN 20 OF THE 35 SIGNATORIES OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. RECENTLY, THEY CONSULTED WITH FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN. THEY INTEND TO CONSULT IN THE NEAR FUTURE WITH TURKEY AND WITH THE USSR.

-- PESIC STATED THAT THE YUGOSLAVS VIEW THE JUNE PREPARATORY MEETING EXACTLY AS DOES THE U.S. THAT IS, IT SHOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIMARILY PROCEDURAL IN NATURE, SHOULD FIX THE AGENDA FOR THE MAIN MEETING WHICH WILL BE SUBSTANTIV AND SHOULD FIX OTHER MODALITIES RELATED TO THE MAIN MEETING. REGARDING THE FRANK REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WHICH DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LOWENSTEIN HAD STRESSED WAS THE MAIN OBJECT OF THE U.S. AT BELGRADE, PESIC STATED THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD BE PART OF THE DYNAMICS OF IMPLEMENTATION AND THAT THE BELGRADE MEETING

SHOULD PROMOTE DETENTE. HOWEVER, THE YUGOSLAVS STRESSED THAT THE VIEWS AND INTERESTS OF ALL SIGNATORIES SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AND THAT CONFRONTATION SHOULD BE AVOIDED, WHATEVER THE MODALITIES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW.

B) EXPERTS GROUPS - PRINCIPLES/CBMS

-- YUGOSLAVS BELIEVE IN THE FULL AND INTEGRAL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL 10 PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN BASKET I. THERE SHOULD BE NO ATTEMPT TO SEPARATE, WITHDRAW, OR ACCENT ANY PRINCIPLE OVER ANY OTHER. ANY ATTEMPT TO DO SO WOULD DISRUPT THE WHOLE CSCE PROCESS. YUGOSLAVS BELIEVE THE FINAL ACT CONFIRMED THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO IN EUROPE BUT THAT THE POLITICAL

STATUS QUO IS OPEN TO CHANGE THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS,
I.E., BY MEANS OF THE FINAL ACT.

-- THE YUGOSLAVS VIEW THE OSIMO AGREEMENT BETWEEN ITALY
AND YUGOSLAVIA AS THE FIRST CONCRETE RESULT OF BASKET I
PRINCIPLES.

-- PESIC REITERATED FAMILIAR YUGOSLAV VIEWS OF CYPRUS
(I.E., MUST BE SOVEREIGN STATE ABLE TO DETERMINE OWN
FATE WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE; INTERNAL SITUATION
DETERMINED BY FEDERATION FORMULA). AND MALTA
(SHOULD BE NEUTRAL ISLAND).
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-- DURING PRINCIPLES DISCUSSION PESIC ALSO MENTIONED
YUGOSLAV PROBLEMS REGARDING MINORITIES WITH AUSTRIA AND
BULGARIA. PESIC WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF AUSTRIANS
FOR IGNORING PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN STATE TREATY AND
HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

C) CBMS

-- PESIC STRONGLY EMPHASIZED BELGRADE'S INTEREST IN THE
MILITARY DISARMAMENT FIELD.

-- YUGOSLAVS HAD SEVERAL IDEAS FOR IMPROVED CBMS, RELATED
TO: A) IMPROVED STATUS OF OBSERVERS, B) CLARIFICATION
OF NOTIFICATION OBLIGATIONS, C) LOWERED PARAMETERS FOR
OBLIGATORY NOTIFICATION, AND D) INCLUSION OF NOTIFICA-
TION OF TROOP MOVEMENTS.

-- PESIC NOTED NEED TO FORM GROUP OF EXPERTS WHICH WOULD
MEET AFTER THE BELGRADE MEETINGS AND WOULD STUDY CBM
ISSUES AND PREPARE IDEAS FOR OTHER FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS.
(U.S. SIDE NOTED IN GENERAL TERMS OUR RELUCTANCE TO
ESTABLISH SPECIAL EXPERTS OR WORKING GROUPS TO FUNCTION
BETWEEN FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. HOWEVER, U.S. SIDE STATED
THAT YUGOSLAV IDEA FOR WORKING GROUP WOULD BE CAREFULLY
CONSIDERED).

D) BASKET II

YUGOSLAVS MADE GENERAL PRESENTATION ON BASKET II
CONTAINING NO SURPRISES. THEY FELT THAT BELGRADE MEETING
SHOULD DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN REALISTIC AND NON-REALISTIC
PROPOSALS IN THIS AREA. PESIC IMPLIED THAT THE "BREZHNEV
PROPOSALS" SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AT THE BELGRADE MAIN
MEETING.

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E) BASKET III

-- BASKET III COOPERATION SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN FULL ACCORD WITH ALL 10 PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN BASKET I.

-- POINTEDLY, PESIC STATED THAT NO COUNTRY SHOULD ASSUME ROLE OF "UNIVERSAL CONSCIENCE" IN BASKET III OR IN ANY OTHER FIELD. IN FACT, PESIC STRESSED ALL COUNTRIES NEED TO DO MUCH MORE IN BASKET III OVER THE LONG TERM. HE STRESSED THAT WHILE U.S. SHOULD THEREFORE BE WARY OF ASSUMING ANY MESSIANIC ROLE FOR ITSELF, THE YUGOSLAVS FELT THE SAME WITH REGARD TO THE SOVIET UNION WHOSE MESSIANISM, ACCORDING TO PESIC, USUALLY CONCEALED NAKED STATE INTEREST.

-- PESIC SEEMED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME POLEMICAL DISCUSSION DURING A POSSIBLE REVIEW OF BASKET III IMPLEMENTATION AT BELGRADE BUT STRESSED YUGOSLAV HOPE THAT NO SERIOUS CONFRONTATION WOULD DEVELOP.

-- PESIC MENTIONED FOUR AREAS OF FURTHER COOPERATION WHICH YUGOSLAVS MIGHT RAISE IN BELGRADE. THEY WERE
A) FURTHER LIBERALIZATION OF VISA POLICY, B) FURTHER COOPERATION BETWEEN MEDIA, C) MEASURES TO STIMULATE THE FLOW OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, AND D) PROCLAMATION OF 1979 TO 1980 AS A YEAR OF CULTURAL COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

-- ARMITAGE EXPLAINED OUR ATTENTION TO BASKET III, NOTING THAT OUR CONCERNS REGARDING YUGOSLAVIA ARE LESS THAN WITH SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPEANS, HE STRESSED THAT OUR OBJECTIVE IS LEGITIMATE AND LIMITED AND THAT WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES CONSTITUTES INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE CITED PRECEDENTS
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FOR INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION TO SUCH QUESTIONS AND STRESSED THAT IT IS BETTER TO BRING THE QUESTION OUT INTO THE OPEN NOW THAN TO LET IT GO UNRESOLVED UNTIL BELGRADE.

-- CU/EE DIRECTOR YALE RICHMOND DESCRIBED OUR CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, STRESSING PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS WITH THE USSR AND GENERALLY NOTING OUR LONGTIME, SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP WITH YUGOSLAVIA. RICHMOND URGED PESIC, HOWEVER, TO LOOK INTO THE LACK OF RESPONSE TO OUR INVITATIONS FOR VISITS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF OMLADINA, SAWPY, LEAGUE OF WOMEN AND THE LCY.

F) MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES

-- ALTHOUGH YUGOSLAVS WERE AGAINST INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN ELEMENTS INTO BELGRADE, THEY BELIEVE MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES SHOULD BE EXAMINED THERE. PESIC STATED THAT THERE WAS A DEFINITE CONSENSUS ON THIS POINT AMONG STATES WITH WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE HAD CONSULTATIONS.

-- PESIC FELT THAT A WORKING GROUP ON MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES SHOULD BE SET UP BUT SHOULD FUNCTION ONLY DURING THE BELGRADE MEETING. PESIC EMPHASIZED, THOUGH, THAT YUGOSLAVIA WANTS TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF WORKING GROUPS TO ABOUT FIVE AT THE MOST.

G) BELGRADE MAIN MEETING

-- THE MAIN SUBSTANTIVE MEETING SHOULD CONSIST OF FOUR ELEMENTS: A) A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION, B) AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON DEEPENING MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SIGNATORY STATES, C) POSSIBILITY OF NEW PROPOSALS AND CONSIDERATION OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN THE FUTURE AND, D) CONSIDERATION OF FURTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS.

-- PESIC FELT THAT THE MAIN MEETING COULD CONSIST OF THREE STEPS, AS FOLLOWS: A) OPENING PLENARY SESSION CONSISTING OF GENERAL DEBATE AND DURING WHICH EACH COUNTRY WOULD REPORT ON ITS OWN ACTIVITIES, B) COMMITTEE WORK DURING WHICH SOME QUESTIONING OF OTHERS ACTIVITIES WOULD TAKE PLACE AND C) CLOSING SESSIONS AT PLENIPOTENTIARY LEVEL WHICH WOULD SUM UP THE WORK OF THE FIRST PHASE AND COMMITTEE PHASE AND WOULD DRAFT A JOINT COMMUNIQUE.

H) CLOSING PLENARY

-- PESIC CITED DIFFERENCES OVER CSCE THAT HAD EMERGED DURING THE U.S. ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS "POLEMIC" BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, SAYING THERE ARE FEARS THESE DEVELOPMENTS COULD UNDERMINE DETENTE AND THE BELGRADE MEETING.

-- HARTMAN RESPONDED THAT, TO THE CONTRARY, OUR POLITICAL DEBATES HAVE CLARIFIED THE THINKING OF OUR PEOPLE AND HAVE PRODUCED A GROWING CONSENSUS SUPPORTING DETENTE. HE RECALLED THE EARLIER SKEPTICISM ABOUT HELSINKI THAT HAD BEEN EXPRESSED IN SOME QUARTERS HERE AND INDICATED THAT THROUGH THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS AND THOSE OF THE CSCE COMMISSION THE VIEW HAS EMERGED

THAT THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT IS BALANCED AND FAIR.

-- HARTMAN ALSO POINTED TO THE GROWING FEELING THAT IT IS LEGITIMATE TO DISCUSS CERTAIN MATTERS. HE SAID SUCH A HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT PROMOTES UNDERSTANDING NOT ONLY BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS BUT BETWEEN PEOPLES, AND HE EMPHASIZED THAT BY FURTHERING THIS UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE FINAL ACT REALLY MEANS AND OF ITS PRACTICAL LIMITATIONS WE CAN WORK TOWARD MORE LASTING DETENTE.
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OTHERWISE, POPULAR EXPECTATIONS OF IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACT COULD LEAD TO DISILLUSIONMENT. MOREOVER, HE NOTED THAT BY OPENLY AND FORCEFULLY EXPRESSING HIS VIEWS THE PRESIDENT DEFUSES THE PRESSURE HE MIGHT OTHERWISE GET FROM CONGRESS TO STATE HIS POSITION, THUS HIS FLEXIBILITY IS ENHANCED.

-- REGARDING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, HARTMAN EMPHASIZED THE ADMINISTRATION'S DESIRE TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE WITH THE AIM OF RESOLVING SPECIFIC ISSUES. HE SAID MOSCOW IS NOT HAPPY WITH THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS BUT HAS NEVERTHELESS INDICATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE DISCUSSING SALT, TRADE, AND OTHER ISSUES.

-- AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI EXPRESSED INTEREST IN FURTHER MEETINGS ON CSCE BETWEEN THE YUGOSLAV PARLIAMENT AND INTERESTED CONGRESSMEN.

-- THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT ANOTHER EXCHANGE EITHER HERE OR IN BELGRADE, WOULD BE USEFUL IF IT COULD BE ARRANGED.

-- BOTH SIDES ALSO EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO CONTINUE OUR CSCE SECRETARIAT.

3. FOR USNATO: YOU MAY DRAW ON ABOVE, EXCEPT FOR FINAL TWO POINTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THIS PARAGRAPH, IN BRIEFING ALLIES ON US-YUGOSLAV CSCE CONSULTATIONS.

CHRISTOPHER

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